

bill that dealt with a single pipeline—we considered almost 250 amendments, and we voted on 40. Surely, we should have the same kind of robust consideration, debate, and voting on this bill. I strongly support the majority leader's call earlier this morning for exactly that kind of robust process. Most of these amendments touch directly on the heart of this legislation. I look forward to casting up-or-down votes on a 51-vote threshold on all of these amendments and many more that my colleagues may offer.

I regret that I may miss some of this debate. I may have to ask some of my colleagues to submit amendments for me. My first child is due today. By the time this bill gets to the floor next week for debate and voting, I expect my first child will have arrived. But I will not allow my son to live under the threat of a nuclear Iran—the threat of nuclear attack and ultimate nuclear war—any more than I will allow the sons and daughters of all Americans to live under that threat.

So I look forward to this debate. I look forward to stopping Iran from getting a nuclear weapon.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CORKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. CORKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate be in a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CORKER. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Ms. HEITKAMP. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

HONORING VIETNAM VETERANS AND NORTH DAKOTA'S SOLDIERS WHO LOST THEIR LIVES IN VIETNAM

Ms. HEITKAMP. Mr. President, I rise today to continue our efforts to honor the Nation's and North Dakota's Vietnam veterans and specifically those brave servicemembers who were killed in action during the Vietnam war.

Mr. President, 198 soldiers from North Dakota died while serving in Vietnam. Today, I am honored to speak about some of these brave men and the stories their families have shared with us.

I need to credit David Erbstoesser of Bismarck, a Vietnam veteran, for his service and for his years of reaching out to the family members of these fallen North Dakota patriots. Over the past 20 years, David contacted each family to obtain a photo of every servicemember and a photo of their gravestone. I am grateful to David for meeting with my staff to share his collection of obituaries, news articles, and photos he has collected.

The Bismarck High students and their teachers are also researching North Dakota's servicemembers who didn't come home from Vietnam. Today, I am happy to include research from BHS's 11th grade students about two such men: Gary Myers and David Bujalski.

RAPHAEL "JOHN" FROST

The first of our soldiers is John Frost. John was from Hunter. He was born on March 16, 1948. He served in the Army's 196th Infantry Brigade. John was 20 years old when he was killed on December 20, 1968.

John was the oldest of three children and helped his dad on the family farm. During high school, John participated in the school newspaper, choir, the Letterman's Club, a school play, and was a class officer. He was also an all-around athlete who earned letters in track, baseball, football, and basketball. His mother Lois still remembers how proud she was the day he scored 33 points in one basketball game in a winning effort.

After high school, John enrolled at Valley City State College. He was a quiet, fun-loving boy who dreamed of returning to his hometown to work as a teacher and basketball coach.

John's mother and brother Kevin remember John's kindness, especially toward his Grandma Alice while she was staying with the family recuperating from breaking her hip. While his parents were out of town, John stayed home caring for his grandmother, even making potato pancakes for her.

JON GREENLEY

Jon Greenley was from Fargo. He was born on January 30, 1942. He served in the Air Force's 774th Tactical Aerial Flight Squadron. Jon died on January 7, 1966. He was 23 years old.

Jon was one of three sons. His brother Doug remembers that Jon respected authority. Jon sent Doug a letter stating that the only time he questioned their parents' judgment was when he was buying a lawnmower and they suggested he buy a type he didn't like.

From a young age, Jon had an interest in planes and in the military. He joined the North Dakota Air National Guard. When his parents wouldn't take him to see the Air Museum in Ohio, he hitchhiked there.

Jon attended North Dakota State University and became president of the international relations group there. He was named Outstanding ROTC of the Air Force and was the first alternate to the Air Force Academy. The Fargo AMVETS post, founded in 1980, was named after Jon.

His body has never been recovered.

DAN HERDEBU

Dan Herdebu was from Baldwin. He was born on July 21, 1948. He served in the Army's 1st Aviation Brigade. He was 19 years old when he died on March 10, 1968.

Dan and his two brothers attended their two-room school through the eighth grade and attended Bismarck High School.

Dan planned to put his aviation experience to good use by flying helicopters for law enforcement or medical facilities someday.

Dan's older brother Eugene was in basic training when Dan was killed in a helicopter crash in Vietnam. After Dan's death, Eugene also served in Vietnam in the Army.

ALAN HINZPETER

Alan Hinzpeter was from Minot. He was born on May 12, 1949. He served in the Army's 101st Airborne Division. Alan died on September 6, 1971. He was 22 years old. Alan was one of four children. His brother Gordie also served in Vietnam, and their father served in World War II in the Navy.

Alan's friends and family called him Pete and remember him as a hard worker who was smart and generous with his money. He was a jokester who liked everyone and whom everyone liked. His oldest sister Jean tells about the time he wanted to watch the World Series, so he smoked a cigarette at school so he would be suspended. Jean says that Alan was 5 feet 4 inches but had a big personality. Many people attended his funeral and still to this day remember him fondly.

GERALD ALLEN "AL" IVERSON

Al Iverson was from Oakes. He was born on May 26, 1947. He served in the Army's 9th Infantry Division. He was 20 years old when he died on November 1, 1967.

Al was the second youngest of 14 kids—7 boys and 7 girls. Al's siblings say he was a fun-loving brother with red hair and freckles. He loved baseball and fishing. He also enjoyed spending time with his older siblings' kids, the oldest in his family, and he wanted to get married someday and have six kids of his own.

Al had 3 months left before he was scheduled to return home. He was the first Dickey County soldier to die in Vietnam.

NORBERT FROEHLICH

Norbert Froehlich was from Belfield. He was born on March 4, 1947. He served in the Army's 503rd Airborne Infantry Regiment. Norbert died on January 30, 1968. He was 19 years old.

He was the ninth of 10 kids and grew up on his family farm. Three of his brothers also served our country in the military.

His friends, both in the Army and from high school, remembered Norbert as a friend who stuck by them through thick and thin. His brother Don says that Norbert was wounded in Vietnam and was supposed to be on R&R in Australia but chose to stay in Vietnam to

help his fellow soldiers. His church in Belfield recognizes him every year on the anniversary of his death. After his death, the Army promoted Norbert to corporal.

GERHARDT JUST

Gerhardt Just was from Wishek and was born October 31, 1925. He served in the Army's 1st Aviation Brigade. Gerhardt died on August 27, 1965. He was 39 years old. He was survived by his wife Lillian, daughters Oteeka and Cora, and his son Butch.

Gerhardt joined the Army, served in Korea, and then reenlisted in the Army to provide for his family.

Gerhardt's oldest child, Oteeka, remembers that it was so important for her dad to support his family financially that after his pickup caught fire and burned the driver's seat, he put a kitchen chair in the cab so he could drive to his second job.

His kids have memories of spending their last time together working on the house he bought them, installing grass in the yard and painting the house days before his deployment.

Gerhardt was killed just a month after arriving in Vietnam.

Gerhardt's children appreciate how after his death, Gerhardt's parents and siblings always welcomed his widow and children into their family with open arms.

GARY MYERS

Gary Myers was from Fort Yates and was born on November 4, 1947. He served in the Marine Corps's 3rd Reconnaissance Battalion. Gary was 20 years old when he died on May 13, 1968.

Gary's father served in the Army during the Korean war and was stationed in Germany, where Gary was born. Gary spent 1 year at Dickinson State University before enlisting.

Gary's sister Linda remembers him as an outgoing person who loved to help people when he had a chance. He was an honor student and enjoyed playing sports, including wrestling, football, and rodeo. When we wasn't busy with sports, Gary was helping his father work on their cattle ranch.

Gary's hometown friends and fellow soldiers reported that Gary was killed in Vietnam while leading a mission to retrieve his lieutenant's body 1 month before Gary was scheduled to return home to his family in the United States.

LARRY OLSON

Larry Olson was from McHenry. He was born on June 26, 1945. He served in the Army's 25th Infantry Division. Larry died on June 19, 1968. He was 22 years old.

Larry's grandfather served in World War I, his father in World War II, and his brother and nephews also served our country.

Larry was the oldest of six children. His sister Rita remembers him as the big brother who always watched out for her and kept bullies away.

Larry was a hard worker and a good friend. Fellow soldiers from his regi-

ment loved Larry so much that they asked Rita to show them his grave.

RICHARD "RICK" BORGMAN

Rick Borgman was from Minot and was born on January 23, 1947. He served in the Army's 101st Airborne Division. He was 21 years old when he died on March 3, 1968.

Rick's mother Anita and sister Pat remember him as a loving, gentle person. He participated in Boy Scouts, worked at the Red Owl grocery store, and enjoyed fast cars and life in general.

Rick left behind his widow Linda, his son Shannon, and daughter Laura. Linda learned that she was pregnant with Laura shortly after Rick's funeral. Linda remembers Rick's big heart, great sense of humor, and that he was loved by many. She says she can see Rick whenever she looks at Shannon and Laura and that Shannon's laugh is contagious, just as his dad's was.

Linda is grateful that her second husband, Bruce Sullivan, a Vietnam veteran, adopted Shannon and Laura and lovingly helped her raise them.

DAVID BUJALSKI

David Bujalski was from Carrington. He was born on August 18, 1940. He served in the Army Corps of Engineers' 65th Energy Battalion. On August 15, 1967, David died. He was 27 years old.

David was the youngest of six children, lovingly called "Little David." But after reaching the height of 6 foot 2 inches, his family more often referred to cheerful and friendly David as a gentle giant.

He graduated in the top third of his class from West Point and married Barbara. They had a daughter Elizabeth while David was stationed in Germany. They moved to Arizona, and David became a commander. His first sergeant there was quoted saying, "He was revered by his cadre, loved by his students, and respected by his superiors."

David felt a duty to serve in Vietnam, and 8 days after arriving there, he was killed by a sniper. His second daughter Kathleen was born 6 weeks later.

David's brother Jack, also a West Point graduate, wrote the following about his brother:

David's life was too short for him to have reached his full potential. We can only conjecture as to what he would have achieved, but we do know that he influenced the lives of all who knew him.

LESLIE CARTER

Leslie Carter was from Jamestown. He was born on November 3, 1943. He served in the Navy as a medic. He was 24 years old when he died on July 1, 1968.

Leslie left behind his widow Marlys and his daughter Heidi. Leslie met Marlys through his brother Douglas. While home on leave, Leslie won Marlys over, and the couple later married. A year after their wedding, their daughter Heidi was born. Heidi was 5 months old when her father died and never had an opportunity to meet him.

One of Leslie's high school friends, who also served in the Navy, James Bitz, called Leslie "Butch" and remembers him as one of the nicest, most generous people he had ever had the pleasure of knowing.

DAVID CORCORAN

David Corcoran was from Grand Forks. He was born on May 5, 1951. He served in the Army's 101st Airborne Division. David died on June 26, 1969. He was 18 years old.

David was one of five children and the only son. He loved hunting with his father, grandfather, and uncles. He also loved cars and playing basketball. David helped construct a figure 8 race-track in Grand Forks and was happy to be able to race his own cars on the track a few times before being deployed.

Wanting to serve his country like his World War II veteran father, David joined the Army at age 17. His family hoped he would not be assigned to a combat unit because he was only 17, but a day after his 18th birthday, he received his orders to Vietnam.

WILBERT FLECK

Wilbert Fleck was from Breien and was born November 22, 1949. He served in the Army's 1st Infantry Division. He was 19 years old when he died on July 27, 1969.

Wilbert was one of 13 children—7 boys and 6 girls. Six of the seven boys served in the military.

Wilbert's brothers and sisters remember him as a selfless and caring person. He was always willing to help out a neighbor. He was dedicated to caring for his aging parents and was extremely protective of those he loved.

Wilbert died taking charge of his platoon after his platoon leader was killed. His sister Pauline says that this was just the kind of person he was—always willing to put the needs of others before his own. Wilbert was Pauline's best friend.

LOWELL HARDMEYER

Lowell Hardmeyer was from Mott. He was born on February 16, 1949. He served in the Army's 198th Light Infantry Brigade. He died on June 10, 1970. He was 21 years old.

Lowell was the younger of two sons. He was a blue-eyed boy who loved horses and grew up on his family farm and ranch in the Prairie Hills.

In 1967, Lowell graduated from high school and enrolled in the National Electronics Institute in Denver before serving in the Army.

In Vietnam, Lowell had various duties, including rear security guard, walking on point patrol, and radio operator. He was killed when his company came under mortar attack.

Lowell's cousin, Lauren, remembers Lowell as a shy, sweet young man. Lauren says that Lowell's parents, George and Clara Hardmeyer, grieved Lowell's death until their own in the 1990s.

MERLYN PAULSON

Merlyn Paulson was from Fargo and he was born on June 19, 1936. He served

in the Air Force's 8th Tactical Fighter Wing. He was 35 years old when he went missing on March 29, 1972.

Merlyn was one of nine children, six boys and three girls. Five of the boys served their country, three in World War II and two in Vietnam.

Merlyn's brother Bob remembers him as a wonderful boy who people couldn't help but love. Bob jokes that Merlyn had personality to burn.

Merlyn went missing when his plane was shot down by a surface-to-air missile. Fourteen years later, in 1986, his body was finally recovered. Years later, his family was finally able to lay him to rest in Arlington National Cemetery.

These are just a few stories that, by sharing today with the Senate and sharing today on the floor of the Senate, I hope will remind us all of the tremendous sacrifice that not only these young men have provided for their country but the sacrifice also of their families, their children, and the wives they leave behind, the parents they leave behind, and that it is a constant reminder that we must never forget the duty to our country and we must never forget those among us who have paid the ultimate price.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE STATE OF THE SENATE AS AN INSTITUTION

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, in the last Congress, I came to the Senate floor to express my concern about the state of the Senate as an institution, how it had been beset by dysfunction, destructive partisanship, and corrosion of its vital characteristics.

Today, I wish to reflect on some of the progress we have made in the first few months of this Congress in restoring this great institution to its essential role in our constitutional system. While significant progress has been made, there still remains much more to be done.

Central to properly understanding our responsibilities as Senators is an appreciation of the Senate's role in our system of government. Consider the particularly distinct purposes of the two Houses of Congress. The House of Representatives is the organ of government designed to embody the will of the people. Its small constituencies and short terms allow its Members to be as closely in touch with the voters as possible. With 435 Members, robust participation by every Member in each debate is impossibly cumbersome. Thus, the House's work is defined by majority rule as logically befits a body that represents the popular will.

By contrast, the Framers designed the Senate to serve as what they called "a necessary fence" against the "fickleness and passion" that sometimes drives popular pressure for hasty and ill-considered lawmaking—or, as Edmund Randolph put it, "the turbulence and follies of democracy." Similarly, James Madison described its purpose as "protect[ing] the people against the transient impressions into which they themselves might be led."

Through its character and its institutional structure, the Senate not only checks transient and occasionally intemperate impulses but also refines the popular will with wisdom and sound judgment. Perhaps the most important characteristic that guarantees this key function is the Senate's relatively small size, which enables each and every Senator to contribute meaningfully in debate.

The primacy of individual Senators' rights has long guided the development of the Senate's rules and traditions, including the right to extend debate, open amendment consideration, and a committee system that gives all Members, from the most seasoned chairman to the newest freshman, a hand in drafting and improving legislation. Moreover, there is the reality that to function efficiently and effectively, the Senate frequently requires temporary modifications to the institution's oftentimes complex and cumbersome rules—agreements that require the unanimous consent of all Senators to take effect.

The expansive rights of Senators are a double-edged sword—at once both the great genius of the institution and the source of some of the greatest pitfalls that may befall it. By giving a minority of Senators—sometimes even a minority of one—great sway over the business of the whole body, each one of us is entrusted with enormous powers that can be used to grind the Senate to a halt. These powers can be used to do enormous good when used wisely and judiciously—from forcing a majority to reconsider misguided legislation to retracting important guarantees from the executive branch in exchange for allowing a nomination to go forward.

The former Senator from Oklahoma, Dr. Tom Coburn, was a leading exponent of these rights. During his time in the Senate, he was legendary for his use of the rules to stop wasteful spending and limit the expansion of the Federal Government. While we may not always have agreed on particular matters, it is beyond question that his willingness to stand up for what he believed in—even in the face of overwhelming opposition—did enormous good for our Nation. Dr. Coburn's service demonstrates exactly why the Senate allows a minority to hold such a sway over this body.

Nevertheless, while the whole Republic has benefited time and again from a Senate minority's judicious exercise of its rights, we know all too well how these rights can be abused. Today, the

Senate's procedures have become bywords for mindless obstruction. In the minds of many of our fellow citizens, what drives the exercise of minority rights is not the interests of thoughtful legislating or productive oversight but, rather, reflexive partisanship and political grandstanding.

From various quarters, including some within this very body, we often hear calls to eliminate the various rights of the minority. Although these calls may be instinctively appealing, we should decisively reject them. After all, without these minority rights, the Senate would lose its unique character, which has allowed it to serve the Republic so well for so many years. The Senate, stripped of its minority rights, would merely duplicate and needlessly frustrate the work of the House of Representatives.

Those of us in the present day should recall that we are not the first in our Nation's history to confront the potential for great dysfunction. In particular, we should recall the example of the late Senator from Montana, Mike Mansfield. Senator Mansfield served as majority leader from 1961 until 1977, holding that position longer than any other Senate leader. These were turbulent times for the Nation and the Senate alike, when the issues of the day could hardly have been more divisive and problematic.

Near the beginning of his tenure, when a determined minority stalled President Kennedy's legislative priorities, Senator Mansfield faced great pressure from within his own party to exert the majority's power more assertively. In an act of great courage, Mansfield resisted these calls to bend the Senate's rules. Although tempted by the prospect of important policy and political victories, he instead counseled that the remedy to gridlock "lies not in the seeking of shortcuts, not in the cracking of nonexistent whips, not in wheeling and dealing, but in an honest facing of the situation and a resolution of it by the Senate itself, by accommodation, by respect for one another, [and] by mutual restraint."

Senator Mansfield was absolutely right, and his wisdom is perhaps more relevant now than ever. For the Senate to function effectively, Senators of all stripes must practice mutual restraint—Republican and Democrat, conservative and liberal, majority and minority alike.

In practice, restraint requires different sacrifices of different Senators, depending on their position. For the majority leadership, it is measured in part by what sort of measures are brought before the Senate for consideration. Do they tend to be divisive and partisan messaging bills, or do they tend to be measures that can gather bipartisan support—those that may offer less prospects of a messaging victory but greater prospects for actually becoming law? Have the measures typically been considered by the committee of jurisdiction, allowing for a